PONS AELIUS

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Editors' Comments

The theme of this edition is 'conflict', chosen to address an ever present theme in our society. Conflict is often devastating for everyone involved, warping personal identities and leaving a trail of destruction behind it. However, conflict also brings the chance to understand others and to adapt; the latter being of great worth today, where the world changes dramatically day after day. These ideas are reflected in the collected papers of this edition of *Pons Aelius,* whether that is seen during the First Crusade, in 19th century Spain or in Ancient Rome. You will find arguments that tackle how conflict of the past can be used to build a society and how memories of war can be transformed into a new identity. The papers take us from Ancient Rome and beyond, all the way to 19th century Spain, where conflict was, and still is, shaping the world of the past and the present. We must remember to keep our minds open during this process; conflict cannot always be avoided but we can ensure, if it is neccesary, that it is used productively. Not for material gain, or to harm others, but to promote understanding and acceptance in the wake of it.

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Christopher Tinmouth, *The Significance of the First Crusade to the Institutional Memory of Orderic Vitalis' Ecclesiastical History*

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The *Ecclesiastical History* (c.1141), written by Orderic Vitalis, a monk of St. Evroul in Normandy, is a narrative history of the Latin Church and of St. Evroul monastery up to his time. It has long been valued by historians of the First Crusade as both a history of the expedition and an account of how the crusade itself was perceived by contemporaries.[1] The First Crusade (1095-1099) was the first mediaeval military expedition launched to claim ownership over Christian holy sites in modern-day Israel for Latin Christendom, which successfully conquered Jerusalem in 1099.[2] The success of the Crusade in conquering Jerusalem in 1099 led contemporaries to believe that it was blessed by God, and the event was widely interpreted as an especially holy expedition, even an 'armed pilgrimage'.[3]

With his monastery of St. Evroul well positioned to receive news of the expedition from participants and from Orderic's contacts with the wider

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[1] Daniel Roach, 'Orderic Vitalis and the First Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol.42, no.2 (2016), pp.177-179

[2] Jonathan Phillips, *The Crusades, 1095-1197* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), pp.14-25

[3] Jonathan S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), p.37

world, the *Ecclesiastical History* incorporated significant oral historical elements in informing its account of the First Crusade.[4] However, the First Crusade took on a much wider significance within the *Ecclesiastical History* beyond providing a historical account, not least because of the magnitude of the event itself in the world historical consciousness of Orderic, but also because of what it meant within the context of the monastic community of St. Evroul.[5]

This paper shall propose that the First Crusade was used by Orderic Vitalis as a key component in forging an institutional memory for St. Evroul. This is defined as a selective process of what and how such events should be remembered, to render an historical narrative conducive to reinforcing a collective understanding of the history of the monastic institution.[6] Whilst the potential of the *Ecclesiastical History* has been recognised by historians as a device for selective remembrance of past events relating to St. Evroul, this has not necessarily been applied in the case of the First Crusade insofar as it directly relates to the institutional memory being created for St. Evroul.[7] After demonstrating how this process was promoted in select examples of 12th-century monastic cartularies and chronicles, this paper shall investigate the *Ecclesiastical History* itself, focusing in particular upon the version of the

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[4] Marjorie Chibnall, 'Introduction', in Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book IX (c.1135), ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, Volume V: Books IX and X* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1975), pp.xiii-xiv

[5] Roach, 'Orderic Vitalis and the First Crusade', p.178

[6] Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.9, pp.16-17

[7] Daniel Roach, 'The Material and the Visual: Objects and Memories in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Orderic Vitalis', *Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History*, vol.24 (2013), pp.63-64

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speech by Pope Urban II delivered at the Council of Clermont (1095) credited with launching the First Crusade.

The drive to create an institutional memory for monastic establishments has invariably been attributed to an anxiety to preserve for posterity perishable memories of past events relating to the monastery in an age with a paucity of written records.[8] However, especially since the seminal work of Patrick Geary in relation to 9th-10th century Carolingian monasteries, there has been a greater appreciation of the dexterity of monasteries to selectively rework the oral and written historical dimensions of their material for their own purposes.[9]

In the case of Anglo-Norman historical accounts, many of which were produced by or for monasteries, chronicles were often used to generate an institutional memory for establishments coming to terms with the Norman Conquest.[10] This is particularly apparent in the Chronicle of William of Malmesbury (c.1150), which incorporated a chronicle of Malmesbury Abbey itself in addition to the world historical endeavour which constitutes the Chronicle.[11] As an Anglo-Norman himself, William of Malmesbury was keen

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[8] Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), pp.185-187

[9] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp.11-14; Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.90-91

[10] Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (Hambledon: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.2-4

[11] Antonia Gramsden, *Historical Writing in England, c.550-c.1307* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p.167

to stress peaceful interaction between English and Normans within the monastic community.[12] Yet he was also eager to draw distinctions between the two peoples at key points in his Chronicle.[13] This preoccupation with this difference influenced the consequent development of the Chronicle itself, as links between Malmesbury and the Continent as well as the particular antiquity of Malmesbury Abbey were simultaneously promoted as key elements of the institutional memory promoted by William of Malmesbury.[14] Orderic Vitalis was committed to St. Evroul as a child of English parents, yet was raised within a distinctively Norman environment.[15] Such a dichotomy may well have influenced the *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis, as he sought to connect the English and Norman elements together in the institutional memory of his adopted monastery.

A similar phenomenon may perhaps be seen in the development of the Worcester Abbey Chronicle and the *Historia Novarum* of Eadmer of Canterbury. The Worcester Chronicle drew heavily upon the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to bring out a particular English bias.[16] This was perhaps in testimony to the contribution of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester in maintaining the integrity of the monastic community at Worcester, who loomed very large within the institutional memory of Worcester Cathedral Priory.[17] The Worcester Chronicle was arguably supplemented by the Worcester Cathedral

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[12] Ibid., pp.166-167

[13] Ibid., pp.173-174

[14] Ibid., pp.177-178

[15] Ibid., pp.151-153

[16] Gramsden, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England*, p.116, p.118

[17] Ibid., pp.114-115; Julia Barrow, 'How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. by Paul Magdalino (London: The Hambledon Press, 1992), pp.73-74

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Priory Cartulary, better known as Hemming's Cartulary, produced in the early-11th century to assert the primacy of the monastic community interests against that of the bishop.[18] In a similar vein, Eadmer of Canterbury reproduced documents verbatim within the *Historia Novarum*, explicitly to ensure that the institutional memory of Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, seen as a firm supporter of the privileges of the Canterbury monks, would be preserved on terms conducive to Canterbury Cathedral Priory.[19] It can therefore be seen that the development of institutional memories were an inherent feature of early-12th century Anglo-Norman chronicles and cartularies, and Orderic Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical History* was typical of its type.

Book IX of Orderic Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical History*, completed between 1135-1139, derived its account of the First Crusade considerably from the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Baudri of Bourgueil, Archbishop of Dol.[20] According to Marjorie Chibnall, this reliance 'reduces its value as a historical source'.[21] Nevertheless, Orderic adds oral historical detail to his account of the First Crusade not found elsewhere and provided a significant literary flourish to the *Gesta Francorum* upon which he and Baudri of Bourgueil based their histories.[22] This third-hand perspective in relation to prevailing chronicles on the First Crusade permitted Orderic to make dynamic

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[18] David Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in honour of Kathleen Major*, ed. by D.A. Bullough & R.L. Storey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp.147-148

[19] Ibid. p.139

[20] Chibnall, 'Introduction', pp.xi-xiii

[21] Ibid., p.xiii

[22] Ibid., p.xiii; Roach, 'Orderic Vitalis and the First Crusade', p.182

use of the material he had at hand to render it meaningful to the monastic community at St. Evroul. In so doing, he enabled the First Crusade to become an important component of the institutional memory of St. Evroul that formed the basis of the *Ecclesiastical History*. He displayed a particular familiarity with the sources at his disposal, as with his close rendering of the text from the *Historia Ierosolimitana*, while haphazardly substituting word changes at key intervals that indicate a casual adaptation of the words from the *Gesta Francorum* and thus a good acquaintance with both chronicles.[23] Despite the varying quality of accuracy found throughout the chronicle, the account of the speech by Pope Urban II (1095-1099) at the Council of Clermont (1095) contains details found nowhere else, and which may be authentic.[24] Yet, even the reproduction of authentic detail served the same end for Orderic, namely, to render the events of the First Crusade relevant to the monastic community of St. Evroul, and none were perhaps so charged with lasting resonance as the Church council that launched the crusade.

According to the *Ecclesiastical History*, the occasion of Urban II's visit to France in 1095 was to dedicate the altar of St. Peter at Cluny Abbey.[25] This is juxtaposed with a reproach of the adulterous behaviour of King Philip I of France, so it may be implied that the significance of the Council of Clermont, for Orderic, lay in its commitment to enacting Church reform more

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[23] Chibnall, 'Introduction', pp.xiii-xiv

[24] Ibid., p.xv

[25] Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book IX (c.1135), ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, Volume V: Books IX and X* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1975), hereafter Vitalis, *HE*, Book IX, p.11

than in launching the First Crusade.[26] Church reform in the late-11th century consisted primarily in advocating for lay investiture of clergy, clerical celibacy and elimination of simony, or payment for church offices, essentially seeking to delineate the boundaries between lay and spiritual dimensions more firmly.[27] By framing the advent of the pope as a reformer, the monks of St. Evroul arguably sought to associate their own role in terms of Church reform and, by extension, their ability to influence the habits of their benefactors and neighbours. This association may well have influenced Orderic Vitalis' framing of the text of the Urban II speech in the *Ecclesiastical History*, as he catered to a monastic community seeking to make its presence felt under often hostile circumstances.[28]

Reports of Urban II's speech at Clermont differed greatly even among eyewitnesses, with different points selected for elaboration. For example, Fulcher of Chartres emphasised the reforming credentials of Urban II, in his exhortation to 'those who, for a long time, have been robbers, now become

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[26] Vitalis, *HE*, Book IX, p.11; cf. Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, Book III (c.1123-1125), ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, Volume II: Books III and IV* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968), pp.98-101, concerning details of Philip I's adultery

[27] R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), pp.122-124, pp.127-130

[28] William M. Aird, 'Orderic's Secular Rulers and Representations of Personality and Power in the *Historia ecclesiastica*', in *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations*, ed. by Charles C. Rozier, Daniel Roach, Giles E.M. Gasper & Elisabeth Van Houts (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), pp.191-192

knights', to redirect their martial energies towards a just cause.[29] Meanwhile, both Baldric of Bourgueil and Robert the Monk emphasised the barbarity of Turkish mistreatment of Christian pilgrims in their accounts more than the reforming imperative.[30] Munro suggested that Orderic's account was dependent on that of Baldric's, insofar as it was entirely 'copied' from the work of his friend.[31] This may be the case, given the great similarity between both accounts.[32] Yet, Orderic may well have heard at first or second hand a report from one of the Norman bishops at the Council, not least because of his detailed rendition of the canons of the Council that include detail not found in the *Historia Ierosolimitana*.[33] Of particular note are those ordering that no one shall be a bishop and abbot at the same time, or that each church shall receive its own tithes and not be granted by anyone to another church.[34]

The account of Urban II's speech most peculiar to Orderic Vitalis is found in his allusion to the enslavement of Christians in the East by the Turks. Orderic relates how the Turks, once they had conquered Palestine and Syria and confiscated properties for the livelihood of holy men, '*multos iam in*

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[29] Fulcher of Chartres, *Gesta Francorum Ierosolem Expugnantium* (c.1101-c.1128), trans. by Oliver J. Thatcher, ed. by Edgar Holmes McNeal, *A Source Book for Medieval History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), pp.516-517

[30] Baldric of Bourgeuil, *Historia Ierosolimitana* (c.1105), trans. and ed. by August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), pp.33-34; Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (d.1122), trans. by Oliver J. Thatcher, ed. by Edgar Holmes McNeal, *A Source Book for Medieval History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), pp.518-519

[31] Dana Carleton Munro, 'The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095', *The American Historical Review*, vol.11, no.2 (1906), p.234

[32] Chibnall, 'Introduction', p.xiv; Keith Kempenich, *The Milites of Orderic Vitalis and the Problem of Knights*, Master's Thesis (Durham: University of New Hampshire, 2016), p.32

[33] See footnote 10 in Vitalis, *HE*, Book IX, p.15

[34] Vitalis, *HE*, Book IX, p.13, p.15

longinquam barbariem captivos abduxerunt' and into slavery.[35] The tone of atrocities recounted in Robert the Monk's account is conspicuously absent.[36] Instead, the Turkish behaviour described in the speech is incorporated within a vocabulary of aristocratic relationships from the speech to accord with the institutional memory of St. Evroul as a monastery beset by adversaries trying to hold onto its property and people as best it could.[37] From this perspective, embellishment of details of atrocities was secondary to ensuring that title to property was safe, at least from the perspective of St. Evroul, where the monks were familiar with the violent ways recalled at length by Orderic throughout the *Ecclesiastical History*.[38] The focus of the text was very much on reasserting claims to the patrimony of Christ, prioritising the destruction of property among the depradations inflicted by the Turks, to render it in terms familiar to the monks of St. Evroul dealing with the propertied interests of ambivalent aristocrats.[39] Orderic was shown to have misinterpreted the source of his information on this aspect of the speech, when he incorrectly claimed the destruction of African bishoprics which had in fact occurred in the 7th century.[40] Nevertheless, the nature of this misinterpretation perhaps implies that Orderic relied more on oral historical input than has hitherto been

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[35] 'Carried off many prisoners into exile in distant lands', ibid., p.16

[36] Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp.519-520

[37] Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp.24-28

[38] Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis*, pp.118-119

[39] Vitalis, *HE*, Book IX, p.17

[40] See footnote 10 in Vitalis, *HE*, Book IX, p.16

appreciated and made active use of this information in informing the institutional memory of St. Evroul in terms familiar to the monks there.

The final point of distinction in Orderic's account of Urban II's speech concerns his treatment of the crusading indulgence. The imperative to undertake the Crusade followed on from the injunction of '*scelerosi*' to put away their sins and '*pro culpis suis Deo satisfacientes*'.[41] Similar terms are presented in the chronicles of Fulcher of Chartres and Baldric of Bourgueil.[42] The idea of warriors of Christ was presented as a powerful component of the Urban II speech, much as it figured prominently in Baldric of Bourgeuil's version.[43] This is because it overlapped with the concerns of the St. Evroul monastic community to keep their possessions safe from lay encroachment, and the cause of the First Crusade resonated with Orderic's desire to see the crusade as part of the Church reform enterprise. In this way, the preaching of the First Crusade was rendered meaningful to the monks of St. Evroul, by reinforcing the reforming credentials so highly valued there. Where Orderic's account differs is his mention of crusaders being excused from '*omni gravedine fit in ieiuniis aliisque macerationibus carnis pie relaxavit*'.[44] His awareness of the dangers associated with going on pilgrimage as reported of Urban II indicates that Orderic was aware, through his frequent contact with lay benefactors who went on crusade, of the risks associated with the enterprise.[45]

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[41] 'Evildoers', 'To make expiation acceptable to God', ibid., p.16

[42] Munro, 'The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095', p.234

[43] Connor Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p.56

[44] 'Any obligation to fast or mortify the flesh', Vitalis, *HE*, Book IX, p.18

[45] Chibnall, 'Introduction', pp.xvi-xvii

The institutional memory of the First Crusade was therefore marked by a deep appreciation of the sacrifice required by benefactors of St. Evroul, and by extension the monastery itself, if they were to be '*a cunctis culparum sordibus expiarentur*'.[46] The precise understanding of the crusading indulgence, whether remission of penance for sins committed or plenary remission of sin, seems to have been reinterpreted by Orderic and his sources by the time Book IX of the *Ecclesiastical History* had been written.[47] The indulgence itself is described as '*poenitentes cunctos ex illa hora qua crucem Domini sumerent ex auctoritate Dei ab omnibus peccatis suis absoluit*'.[48] This reinterpretation likely served the interests of a monastic community that needed to reconcile the sacrifices it had made to the Crusade and those of its benefactors.

From this investigation, it appears as though Orderic Vitalis' narrative of the First Crusade formed a significant component in the institutional memory of St. Evroul, by the close connections between the monastery and developments during the crusade. Orderic helped to render the memory of events such as the Council of Clermont relevant to the contemporary concerns of his monastic community. At the same time, the First Crusade was held up as a salutary episode of piety that would stand the test of time beyond the cloister of St. Evroul.

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[46] 'Cleansed from all the guilt of their sins', Vitalis, *HE*, Book IX, p.18

[47] Paul E. Chevedden, 'Canon 2 of the Council of Clermont (1095) and the Crusade Indulgence', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, vol.37, no.2 (2005), p.304

[48] 'By the will of God he absolved all penitents from their sins from the moment that they took the cross', Vitalis, *HE*, Book IX, p.16

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Paul Davy, *Political Violence in the Second Spanish Republic*

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April 1931 was a momentous month in Spain. Amid political and economic turmoil republican parties won a landslide victory in the elections on April 12th. The elections were seen as a plebiscite on Spain's monarchy and the Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed two days later.[1] King Alfonso XIII, who had ruled Spain since his birth in May 1886, went into exile.[2] The proclamation of the Republic was greeted with jubilation by many, for the demise of the monarchy was seen as a chance to create a much fairer Spain, free from inequality and discrimination. Others were appalled – they feared losing their social, economic, and political control of the country.[3] The following five years were marked by increasing political violence between the left and right and in July 1936 sections of the military and their right-wing supporters launched a coup to, as they claimed, save Spain from anarchy.[4] The uprising caused a three-year civil war and following the right wing's victory, a thirty-six-year-long military dictatorship headed by General Franco. Understanding the political violence which marred the Second Spanish Republic is important because of the role it may have played in

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[1] The First Spanish Republic lasted twenty-two months between February 1873 and December 1874.

[2] Hugh Thomas, The Spanish Civil War (London: Penguin, 2003), 31.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006), 18.

creating the conditions required for the July 1936 military uprising. Furthermore, seeking to explain why people employ violence for political purposes and how violence occurs is important for other reasons, not least because it can help in tackling this issue. The is particularly relevant now with society becoming more polarised and political violence and violent discourse increasing.[5]

This essay analyses a riot that took place near Seville in 1935. It explores the logic behind this conflict and examines why those involved participated in activities which caused serious injuries and deaths and how the violence occurred. It argues that although violence is by its very nature destructive, it can also play a constructive role, as the activists derived benefits from their violent activities.

Aznalcóllar, April 1935

Our case study relates to violent altercations that occurred in Aznalcóllar, a small town located approximately twenty miles north-west of Seville, on 29 and 30 April 1935. There is extensive press coverage of the incidents which is supplemented by court records and other primary evidence.

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[5] For example, a survey published by researchers from Cardiff University and the University of Edinburgh in October 2019 highlighted that a majority of Leave and Remain voters in England, Scotland and Wales believed violence against MPs and violent protests in which members of the public are badly injured are a "price worth paying" for their goals to be achieved https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/news/view/1709008-future-of-england-survey-reveals-public-attitudes-towards-brexit-and-the-union

Ahora is one of the most detailed sources of journalistic reporting about the incident.[6] The newspaper states that:

'The origin of the events was the sale by fascists of the newspaper called "Arriba", which sadly led to one death and four people being wounded. On Monday [29 April 1935] five individuals arrived by car in Aznalcóllar with the intention of selling [this] newspaper. Their presence and behaviour caused a great deal of disgust among the locals. One resident asked them to cease their propaganda, but they took no notice. A large group of locals went to the edge of town and when the fascists were about to leave the locals shouted insults at them. The fascists left, saying that they would come back better prepared'.[7]

This promise was kept. We learn from *Ahora*'s reporting that the next day:

'Around 20 fascists arrived [in Aznalcóllar] in three cars. Their presence was considered a provocation. Some locals and the mayor told them to leave but they refused, and the locals started shouting and cursing at them. The fascists withdrew to their cars, and it appears at this point the fascists were attacked, with people throwing stones at them. One of the fascists fired shots at the locals, four of whom were injured. The rest of the locals fled in a panic, throwing stones at the fascists. The person who started the shooting got closer to those who were fleeing, chasing, and shooting at them, and when he was going back to his car, he was hit by a shot fired by one of his companions, as a result he was seriously injured…He died shortly after being admitted [to

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[6] *Ahora* was a centrist newspaper which was published between 1930 and 1939.

[7] *Ahora*, 02/05/1935.

hospital]. The deceased was called Manuel Pérez Minguez (sic) and he was 32 years old'.[8]

The subsequent edition of *Ahora* states that one of the locals injured in the incident had subsequently died, bringing the total number of deaths to two.[9]

The trial took place on 5 October 1935, the records for which are held in the Seville's *Archivo Histórico Provincial*, the regional archive.[10] Thirteen people were tried for murder and attempted murder. The accused were all male activists from the Seville branch of the Falange Española,[11] the oldest of whom was thirty-six and the youngest nineteen. The youngest four were students, aged between nineteen and twenty-three. The rest were aged over twenty-six and held working-class jobs, for example, one was a mechanic, one a construction worker and another a debt collector. The marital status is provided for eleven of the accused and all but two of them were unmarried. All the students were unmarried, which is not surprising given their ages and the fact they were not in paid employment, but it is interesting to note that most of the workers were unmarried despite being of an age where this might be expected. Most of the accused were from Seville or nearby towns, suggesting they were likely a close-knit group or at least well acquainted with

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., 03/05/1935.

[10] Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, libro de sentencia del año 1935, sentencia n. 16, rollo 1459, causa n. 55.

[11] The Falange Española was a fascist political party created in 1934. Although it struggled to make electoral headway during the Second Republic, in 1937 General Franco, self-proclaimed head of state, merged it with a monarchist movement and the subsequent organisation formed the sole political party during his dictatorship.

one another. This sense of connection is reinforced by the fact that approximately a third of those on trial were also arrested after the Falange provoked another riot in April 1934 during celebrations to mark the anniversary of the declaration of the Second Republic.[12] This suggests that participation in violent disturbances was creating solidarities between those involved.

The court records describe the incident in detail. They state that a smaller group than the accused went to Aznalcóllar on 29 April to sell *Arriba*. The locals forced the group to leave, who threw stones at them and shouted, 'get away from here outsiders'. This caused the accused to return the following day to again try to sell their newspaper and shout slogans. This time they arrived in three taxis. The taxis waited outside the town while the activists entered it, spreading out in groups throughout the main street of the town, shouting to (ostensibly) sell their newspaper. This caused a large group of hostile locals to congregate and object to the behaviour of the fascists. The arraigned claimed they were entitled to sell their newspaper but due to the threat of public disorder the local government official asked them to cease their activities. The temperature rose further with the locals shouting 'get out fascists' and throwing stones at the interlopers. Four of the accused fired their weapons at the locals, killing one and injuring four others. The accused then retreated, heading back to the vehicles in an orderly fashion, while being pursued by groups of locals. Some of the locals threw stones at the accused while others fled in a terrified manner, taking refuge in nearby houses and streets. The court records state that a Falange member Manuel García Miguez

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[12] *El Liberal*, 15/04/1934. *El Liberal* took a republican stance during the Second Republic.

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was killed but it was not possible to establish who was responsible for this death. Sentences were handed down for unauthorised possession of firearms, violent disorder and homicide and injuries caused in a violent disorder.

Both *ABC* and *El Liberal* provide further information on the court case. The report in *El Liberal* is short and covers only the first part of the trial. It has not been possible to find *El Liberal*'s coverage for the second half. *El Liberal* outlines the defence put forward by the accused, namely that they had gone to Aznalcóllar to sell their newspaper, were told by local police that they required permission from the mayor and that when they went to speak to this official, locals threw stones at them. When they tried to leave shots were fired leading to the death of Miguez. Interestingly, one of the lawyers representing the accused was none other than José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the head of Falange.[13] *ABC* provides more detail,[14] starting with the defence case as outlined in *El Liberal* but also stating that the defendants were merely exercising their constitutional rights by attempting to sell their newspaper in the town. *ABC* primarily focuses on the defence case, and when the opposing case is discussed, the newspaper claims the prosecution witnesses contradicted themselves. Readers of *ABC* would have been confused and angry to read the court's decision. Four of the accused, including Martín Ruiz Arenado, the leader of the group, were convicted of committing manslaughter during a violent disorder and sentenced to two years, four months and one day in prison. They were also found guilty of grievous bodily harm, for which

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[13] *El Liberal*, 05/10/1935.

[14] *ABC*, 05/10/1935. *ABC* took a right-wing monarchist line during the Second Republic.

they received the sentence of two months and a day, and actual bodily harm, for which they were sentenced to 10 days imprisonment. Two of these defendants were also sentenced to two years, 11 months, and 11 days in prison for the illegal possession of firearms. The rest of the accused were found not guilty.

In terms of the sociological drivers behind the violence, it is interesting to compare this incident with similar events in Germany. In *Stormtroopers*, a history of the Nazi Party's SA, Daniel Siemens describes a violent incident that occurred in Bad Tölz, a town in Bavaria near Munich, in 1922.[15] According to police records, on a Sunday lunchtime in mid-August a group of eighteen Nazi party members arrived in this spa town. They occupied the city centre by hanging a banner from an inn and shortly afterwards paraded through the city centre singing patriotic songs. The parades continued, and this, in combination with anti-Semitic songs, provoked a violent reaction from the locals. The interlopers were attacked with the only weapons the locals had at their disposal, hiking sticks. The local police had to intervene and compel the Nazi expedition to go home. According to the group leader these outings took place nearly every weekend and public holiday during the summer of 1922. There are interesting similarities between the Bad Tölz and the Aznalcóllar incidents. Both involved 'expeditions' from the activists' bases to physically occupy the centres of nearby smaller towns. Both incidents involved the activists engaging in shouting, the Nazis sang their nationalistic songs, while the Falange had their own patriotic calls and attempts to publicise their

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[15] Daniel Siemens, *Stormtroopers: A new history of Hitler's Brownshirts* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 15.

newspaper. This behaviour generated solidarity within the groups; it bonded the participants together, created a sense of fun and excitement and built courage. It was also intended to provoke a violent reaction. The Nazis went to a pub owned by one of the city's Jewish residents to sing anti-Semitic songs and the Falange members knew they were not welcome in Aznalcóllar, they had after all been forced out of the town the day before the killings took place. The Falange likely knew their outings would create a violent reaction from the locals; in fact, they wanted this to happen. The judicial records related to the incident contain a letter written by Martín Ruiz to a friend in April 1934 which is very illuminating in this respect.[16] In the letter Ruiz states:

'There is no other solution but to show your face and run risks. We are the blood heirs of the [conquistadors]. We should give our lives if it is necessary. The balls you have between your legs should be used for more than just hanging there. We will rise up and every night we will beat the Marxist scum with sticks. Our headquarters is covered with slogans: "Long Live Fascism", "Death to the Marxist pigs" etc. etc.'

The Aznalcóllar expedition was therefore a deliberate, pre-meditated attempt to provoke violence.

Siemens writes that the SA's behaviour in Bad Tölz contains "several characteristics of what sociological research calls the 'expressive acting of violence' defined as violence that is seen as an end in itself".[17] Politics were

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[16] Archivo general de la Jefatura Superior de Policía de Andalucía Comisaría de Investigación y Vigilancia, documentación de Falange Española", carpetilla "Documentos varios de Falange Española", legajo L, expediente 5.

[17] Siemens, *Stormtroopers*, 15.

present in both incidents, as we have seen from the newspaper reporting and judicial records the Falange ostensibly went to publicise their newspaper vocally, the SA sang anti-Semitic songs, but what was more important was the sense of confrontation, the opportunity to express masculinity by engaging in provocative behaviour and the experience of collective entertainment.

We have seen above that the participants were all young men, the average age of the Aznalcóllar group was twenty-seven and most of the group were unmarried students and blue-collar workers. There are interesting comparisons with an SA group studied by Sven Reichardt.[18] The average age of the group Reichardt studied is similar, in this case twenty-five.[19] Reichardt highlights that most of the Sturm were too young to have fought in World War I, demonstrating that individuals did not need to have been brutalised by their participation in this conflict to take part in political violence. The Falange group did not participate in World War I, they were also too young and Spain did not take part in the conflict, which reinforces Reichardt's argument that we must look deeper than brutalisation to explain political violence in the inter-war period. Reichardt argues that violent male camaraderie provided emotional communalisation and a type of replacement family.[20] The Aznalcóllar group shared similar backgrounds, they were young mostly unmarried males with working-class jobs who were also living

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[18] Sven Reichardt, "Violence and Community: A Micro-Study on Nazi Storm Troopers" in Central European History 46 (2013) No. 2, 275-297.

[19] Reichardt, "Violence and Community", 286.

[20] Reichardt, "Violence and Community", 292.

through economically difficult times. Violent male camaraderie provided emotional support and entertainment in these testing circumstances.

The concepts of emotional communalisation and replacement families are also seen in the commemorations which took place to celebrate the sacrifices made by these activists. On 20 October 1935 José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the head of the Falange, signed a resolution relating to the organisation in Seville and Andalucía. It states that Miguez 'died gloriously in Aznalcóllar on 29 April in service to the Falange, he was always at the front line, demonstrating his brave and happy spirit'.[21] Miguez was awarded the 'silver palm' for his glorious death in service to the Falange, with Sancho Dávila, the local leader, and Martín Ruiz receiving the same decoration. The resolution also lauds Adrián Irusta who was injured in Aznalcóllar; Irusta is decorated with both the white and the red cross by the Falange leader. These awards provided a reward and incentive for members to participate in violent activism. Furthermore, by commemorating fallen comrades the decorations also bonded together the group's members and encouraged the activists to avenge the deaths and injuries suffered.

This case study also demonstrates aspects of the micro-sociological theory of violence put forward by Randall Collins in *Violence: A Micro-sociological Theory*.[22] Collins analyses violent situations, rather than individuals, and argues that violence is harder to perform than most people

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[21] Sancho Dávila and Julián Pemartin, *Hacia la historia de la Falange* (Cádiz: Jerez Industrial, 1938), p.134-136.

[22] Randall Collins, *Violence: A Micro-sociological Theory* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008).

believe because tension and fear usually prevent it from taking place. He also argues that, sociologically, humans prefer solidarity to confrontation.[23] Collins believes a set of pathways need to be overcome for violence to take place. One of these pathways is 'fun and entertainment' and we have already discussed how Aznalcóllar incidents were a source of entertainment for those involved. Other aspects of the incident also conform to Collins' pathways. One of these is 'forward panic', i.e., violence erupts when one of the sides gains an advantage. Interestingly, according to *Ahora* the locals escalated their attack precisely when the fascist activists were withdrawing. Collins highlights numerical advantage as an important factor in forward panics and although the reporting is confused, the locals do appear to have had a considerable numerical advantage at this point. Another pathway discussed by Collins is the strong attacking the weak,[24] and in this incident, we see the fascists retaliating with firearms to being attacked by stones, a disproportionate response. Collins also discusses how violent incidents are more confused than the media portrays,[25] which we see in this incident, as it appears that Miguez was killed by his own side. Another factor Collins discusses is how crowds consist of different segments, the actively violent, support clusters and the less involved.[26] In Aznalcóllar while some of the locals pursued the fascists, others fled and hid in nearby streets and houses. Finally, Collins discusses the role of the crowd in encouraging violence,[27] and again we see here how the crowd of locals chanted at their interlopers,

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[23] Ibid., p.27.

[24] Collins, *Violence*, 40.

[25] Ibid., 60-61.

[26] Ibid., 429.

[27] Ibid., 129.

generating the necessary emotional energy for a section of the group to launch their attack.

Conclusion

This case study has enabled us to explore the sociological reasons for political violence during the Second Spanish Republic. We have seen that although violence is inherently destructive, two people lost their lives during the incident and others were injured, violence could also play a generative role. For example, the instigators of these incidents derived a sense of solidarity and emotional communalisation from their participation in the disturbances, reinforcing a spirit of camaraderie that had been created through involvement in previous violent altercations. This sense of belonging and community was important because of the disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds of many of the activists and the testing times in which they lived. The violent activities also provided a sense of fun and entertainment for those involved. Furthermore, violence led to more violence; the commemoration of fallen comrades further strengthened the bonds between those involved and other members of the wider group and encouraged the activists to seek further opportunities to avenge the colleagues they had lost. Also, it is interesting to note the striking similarities between the motivations for political violence in contemporary Spain and Germany, particularly as political violence in Spain has arguably received less historical attention than other parts of Europe in the same period. In fact, these motivations do not appear to be unique to 1930s Spain and Germany, they also surely provide an insight into the drivers behind political violence much more widely.

The case study also allowed us to test pathways that need to be overcome for violence to take place, for example, the Aznalcóllar disturbances provide an example of the concept of 'forward panic', and they also demonstrate the confused nature of violent incidents, the segmentation of those involved and the role of the crowd in encouraging violence. It is from here that we can perhaps take encouragement. If hurdles must be overcome for violence to take place, then a better understanding of these pathways, and the motivations of those involved, will surely provide opportunities for managing and reducing violent conflicts.

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An identity in the making

From approximately 1850 to 1900, historians became heavily influenced by positivism and political and cultural movements such as Romanticism, which aimed to evoke glorious episodes of national history.[1] This trend, that emerged around the 1830s and was fully consolidated during the 1870s, defended language and culture as the way for the creation of a 'national spirit'.[2] Romanticism also influenced the formation of Archaeology as a discipline emancipated from the sheer accumulation of "rare and ancient objects" typical of Antiquarism. This trend was, thus, inevitably accompanied by a new approach towards historical heritage.[3] During this period, the eighteenth-century Spanish tradition of preparing glosses of the emblematic episodes of the 'history of the nation' was severed, and a series of themes of

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[1] Cortadella i Morral 2003; Gracia Alonso and Munilla 2013

[2] Gracia Alonso 2013

[3] Romero 2009

essentialist content and orientation were constructed in the form of "National Histories".

Romanticism, together with the struggle against the Napoleonic occupying force, brought the need and will to build up on what had been until then only cultural identities. Central and peripheric scholars began to generate almost *ex novo* national identities suiting their political interests. The evident failure at creating a successful state-wide Spanish nationalism in a country that until 1716 had mostly been a patchwork of small states loosely united by a common Crown facilitated the emergence of smaller, regional identities in areas such as Catalonia. In both cases, in order to efficiently create the image of centuries-long legitimacy, the origins of the *'national 'ethnos'* had to be found in periods as remote as possible. Given that Prehistory was still mostly unknown, and despite the fact that Middle Ages was considered the true beginning of the aforementioned 'nations', the Iron Age and Ancient Rome were the obvious choices.

Thus, the singularity of the early settlers was seen as an essential element in shaping modern cultures. For many authors, a modern nation was the result of the union of race (ethnicity), language and territory, aspects that could be traced long before the appearance of medieval institutions.[4] In generalist historiographical treatises, there are entire chapters devoted to the analysis of the racial and cultural origin of the inhabitants of a region or a country, which illustrates the importance given to these subjects.[5]

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[4] Duplá Ansuátegui and Cortadella i Morral 2014

[5] Salvador i Roses via Cuyàs i Tolosa 1977, I:100–166; Pella i Forgas 1883; Pellicer i Pagès 1887; Sanpere i Miquel 1878; Sanpere i Miquel 1881

Arnau Lario-Devesa, *A Quest for the Ancient World. The appropriation of the proto-historic and Roman heritage by contending national and regional political movements in the nineteenth-century Spain.*

Similarly, a particular interest arises in Roman municipal institutions, which enjoyed a high degree of political autonomy[6], a very coveted concept within Catalan and Spanish political arenas. This project of rebuilding national identities required the reconstruction of common traditions and their historical heritage, an idea that was not restricted to the study of history: 'Only societies without convictions, which have no definite ideas, those who live the present without taking into account their past in order to understand the future, only these societies ignore the fact that their history is written on their monuments'[7]; 'Archaeology will bring us before a true example; [...] If we turn our eyes to the monuments of the past, we will discover every day new reasons not to be ashamed, but to feel honoured to be sons of Catalonia'.[8] This mindset shaped many contemporary authors' approach towards Antiquity.

This approach is by no means an isolated phenomenon, since during the same chronological period, Spanish historiography based in Madrid was also building its nationalism using the indigenous and Roman world, specifically through the recovery of the memory of the epic siege of Numantia.[9] In order to consolidate the idea of the people as a sovereign subject, and the Spanish nation as its guarantor, all the cultural elite had to be

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[6] Balaguer 1860; Pellicer i Pagès 1887

[7] Domènech i Montaner 1877

[8] Gudiol i Cunill 1902

[9] De la Torre Echávarri 1998

involved in the construction of the national project. This active process, which sprouted as a direct consequence of the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula (1808-1814), created a close connection between the study of the past and the conception of a united and indivisible homeland[10]. Thus, a united and uniform Spanish 'national identity' collided with the particularistic approach of regional scholars such as the Catalan and Basque ones.

Archaeology, an unexploited discipline

Some of the triggers of this new *status quo* were the publication of Víctor Balaguer's '*Historia de Cataluña y de la Corona de Aragón*' (1860) and Modesto Lafuente's '*Historia General de España'* (1850-1867), global works aimed to provide Catalan and Spanish historiographies with a sourcebook with which to construct a national identity. For Balaguer, who was not a trained historian, the history of Catalonia began with the first medieval counties, so ancient times only constituted a necessary preliminary to explain later events. Additionally, the book presents characteristic features of the historical research at the time, and it was an important foundation and inspiration for later works.[11] Similarly, Lafuente sees the Roman conquest of *Hispania* as an obstacle for the inevitable and desirable political unification of the indigenous peoples in a 'proto-Spanish' state. According to him, the locals too eagerly accepted Roman values and culture, and so they degenerated into a Romanised society that would not be redeemed until their

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[10] Álvarez 2001

[11] Aulèstia i Pijoan 1878; Sanpere i Miquel 1878; Pella i Forgas 1883; Pellicer i Pagès 1887; Soler 1890; Sanpere i Miquel 1890

conversion to Christianity.[12] Amador de los Ríos' reflection on this matter is an especially illustrative example:

'*The nineteenth century, which so tenaciously looks back into past times to take from them lessons in order to understand the life of the ancient peoples and to understand their actions, has put its attention towards archaeological studies. It has, without dispensing with Roman and Greek civilisations, set its focus on Middle Ages. It has admitted that this great period, until now hidden in the dark and seen with disdain by scholars interested in other historical times, is instead luminous. Christian Archaeology, the Archaeology of medieval times, has come to take the place of Pagan Archaeology*'.[13]

During this period, there began to appear, mostly in local writings, mentions of archaeological objects beyond the already well-known inscriptions.[14] European trends in Historical research seem to have had a late but intense impact on contemporary intellectual circles.[15]

Even though objects and architectural structures of the past were considered to be valid sources of information, during the 19th century they

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[12] Lafuente 1890

[13] de los Ríos 1861

[14] Epigraphy were a documentary category per se with a long tradition of study since the late 15th century, and which was systematized as a scientific discipline from the mid-19th century in the context of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum project of the Academy of Prussia. The French prehistoric and the Scandinavian Archaeological Schools, which attempted to produce material typologies of prehistoric and protohistoric elements and, subsequently, confront them with ancient texts are also relevant to understand this change of attitude.

[15] Cortadella i Morral 2003

were not given a historiographical category of their own. Instead, in most cases, they are viewed as conspicuous vestiges of an already known and pre-established past. Thus, in general terms, archaeological vestiges were not seen as a case study by themselves but served to solidify the already established historical discourse on elements of everyday life, rarely treated in the great chronicles of classical authors.

First attempts at a 'professionalisation' of historiography

Methodologically, there was a tendency to, to the best of their ability, 'update' historical research to 'modern quality standards', and authors of the last decades of the 19th century already criticised many of their predecessors' arguments for being 'not scientific enough'. In Catalonia, as in other territories with little academic development, positivism united the regionalist and Catalanist political component with the intellectual will of institutionalisation. The debate about which tools should be used to make hypotheses about the past was intense. Pellicer i Pagès was aware of the need to adopt a 'systematic' approach: 'To those who wish to make another opinion prevail, we ask them to oppose texts; but not modern authors, because they, however egregious they may be, will never be able to match the [classic] ones that we will display on this and other issues.'[16]. This author presents some contradictions, though, since when he talks about prehistory and protohistory, his claims depend entirely on modern authors, on whom he enthusiastically recommends their reading and consultation, and on their own interpretations.

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[16] Pellicer i Pagès 1887: 126

However, Pelicer's 'work ethic' is not exclusive to him, since even previous studies already use literary sources such as Avienus' *Ora Maritima,* the Bible and etymology to elaborate complex conclusions on pre-roman indigenous peoples.[17] All of these late 19th-century interpretations ultimately draw from much earlier assertions made by Annio de Viterbo in his *Antiquitatum volumina XVII*, specifically in his paragraph entitled '*De origine Italiae et Tyrrhenorum*'[18], where he links the facts and characters of the Bible to his hypotheses.[19] Similarly, although with a certain level of caution, they were still seen as prestigious sources on the '*Crònica Universal del Principat de Catalunya*' by Jeroni Pujades (1606) and the '*Anales de Cataluña*' by Narcís Feliu de la Penya (1709), which perpetuated the legendary discourse. Gaietà Soler, a contemporary of Pellicer and undoubtedly one of the most objective authors of this period, strongly criticized Pellicer's (and indirectly others') approach: 'It is impossible to read the fists article of the Study IV of this work in earnest, since the author is pleased to accumulate on *Iluro* all that it is known of ancient colonization throughout Spain. It is unfortunate that Mr. Pellicer so often lets his fertile imagination run through the veiled fields of History, to its detriment.'[20]. This shows that there was a sincere desire for

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[17] Anònim 1860

[18] Annio de Viterbo 1498

[19] Cuyàs i Tolosa 1977, I:31–32

[20] Soler 1890: 16

mutual review and reading among the various intellectuals, an indicator of the academic dynamism existing in Catalonia at the end of the 19th century.

In fact, although most works are the product of relatively autonomous individual initiatives, entities such as the *Acadèmia de les Bones Lletres de Barcelona* (1729) and the *Ateneo Catalán/Ateneu Barcelonès* (1860) functioned as informal research institutions. Spanish scholars could also meet and discuss their research in institutions such as the *Real Academia de la Historia* (1738) and the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* (1752), which exerted a certain amount of control over the provincial 'Commissions of Artistic and Historical Monuments'[21]. In any case, its members lacked the authorisation to carry out archaeological excavations, which had to be ultimately sanctioned by the central government. Instead, they were instructed to 'be aware of the antiquities that exist in their respective provinces which deserve to be preserved' and to create catalogues, descriptions, and drawings of them[22].

The need for entities dedicated to historical research on the margins of an inoperative university was manifest: 'University culture, which is commonly divorced of reality in our homeland, has also not been more effective than the illustrious senate of national history [the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona] in the general historical movement of the Peninsula'[23]. Although its members had what is now called 'academic freedom', the atmosphere of constant debate and exchange of historical and archaeological developments served to establish agreements and create a

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[21] Mederos Martín 2014

[22] Lavín 1999: 15

[23] Rubió i Lluch 1913: 128

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common 'work method'. Despite this apparent 'consensus', though, tensions and debates existed between different authors.

The Ancient past, a malleable subject

For the authors of the second half of the 19th century, the Roman city represents the best-known subject of study: a centre of power that articulates and controls the surrounding territory, a religious and political seat of the imperial authority and containing the best-known architectural expressions of the ancient world. The countryside ceases to generate interest when the indigenous Iberians become assimilated into urban societies, and it is only mentioned when talking about the *villae*, seen as a model of settlement based on the classical descriptions of Columella and Varro. Rural areas, and thus their settlements, are relegated to the role of witness, often endowed with a bucolic nature that enhances the city's importance: 'So the magnificence of the city [of *Iluro*] extended to the east and west, giving his hand with *Baetulo* and *Blanda* through *villae* that for their rich fruits, exquisite water, benign Iberian climate and health, and an atmosphere continuously embalmed with the fragrance of the gardens and the smell of the mountain, turned the coastline into an uninterrupted garden [...]'.[24] Trade in agricultural products, which later research has shown to be a key element of the economy of the cities on the Catalan coast, receives a superficial treatment: 'In such a state of

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[24] Pellicer i Pagès 1887: 247

enlargement had they put Barcelona, that the fertility of its countryside from which it was the natural port, poured into Rome's immense markets cereal, oils and wines and other rich products'[25].

An element that receives extensive treatment in all works of this period is the political articulation of the Roman cities, the differences in status, their magistracies and the prerogatives that the municipal government had. All authors devote entire sections or chapters to rebuild the political systems of the urban centres they study, and efforts are made to enumerate as many local magistrates as possible through the epigraphy.[26] The identification, often decontextualized, of some of the inscriptions along with their provenance, led in some cases to misinterpretation, such as the one already cited in Pellicer's case. Account must be taken, however, of the lack of resources of scholars at the time in contrasting the information they received from third parties.

This interest in what they considered the first political institutions of the area fits with the express will of the authors to seek the origin of the contemporary bourgeois city model not among those considered 'ethnic ancestors', lacking the attributes of civilization, but among the prestigious Roman magistracies that still had direct equivalents. However, the romantic discourse of subservience of the indigenous substratum persists, according to which the Romans 'passed on to their new subjects, along with their laws, their sciences, arts, language, customs, and thus increased the population of that country, reforming agriculture in particular and somehow gloating on the

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[25] Aulèstia i Pijoan 1878: 9

[26] Pi i Arimon 1854: 83–86, 127–28; Pella i Forgas 1883: 217–36; Pellicer i Pagès 1887: 231–34; Sanpere i Miquel 1890; Soler 1890: 31–40

sorrow that the local people felt for the loss of their freedom, thanks to the appearance of well-being offered to them by the Roman institutions.' Other authors, however, commend the 'civilising' task of the Romans, whose municipal regime would have contributed more to Rome and the future national spirit than the violence of Roman armies[27].

According to the average scholar of this period, the Roman political and military dominance in *Hispania* is, in every way, a negative outcome, as it led to the suppression of the indigenous peoples' freedom and culture.[28] With some exceptions, the bad image the Romans are given contrasts, not without some amount of contradiction, with the common approval of the political integration brought by Roman imperialism.[29] This 'autochthonous substrate' would have seemingly outlived all of them, learned of the invaders' superiority and become what those scholars knew as their present society. It should not come as a surprise, then, that Rome was seen as a harmful force that either hampered the inevitable unification of the indigenous peoples (into proto-Spaniards) or that acted as the first oppressive power (to the proto-Catalans) of the many to come.

The typically Roman architectural elements, such as the *insulae*, aqueducts, theatres or temples, are generally referred to as 'monuments'. All the studied authors dedicate in their works a chapter or sub-section to these

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[27] Bofarull 1876: 98

[28] de los Ríos 1861

[29] Lafuente 1890

structures, which are listed and described in detail. In some cases, the professional expertise of some authors causes a special interest in architecture.[30] However, apart from the annotation of their measurements, functionality, materials and special features, they are not integrated into the historical account and are relegated to archaeological curiosities illustrating a speech based mostly on written sources.

Conclusions

The second half of the 19th century marks a transition from Antiquarism and humanist thinking to a historiography dedicated not to formulating limited hypotheses based on biased information, but to the manifest desire to construct a historical account. This discourse, despite not always putting objectivity as a priority element, seeks to produce a coherent and comprehensive speech. Between the transition period between 1860 and 1900, most scholars, still outsiders to the University, manifestly intended (not always successfully) to acquire an objective and secular approach while writing History. They met in academic institutions and informal congresses, mutually discussed their research and generally shared their knowledge to their peers.

The past had to legitimise the political claims of the present, but what differentiated this from what had already been done many times? One of the main advancements can be found in Archaeology. Even though attention was mainly set on the so-called 'monuments', this discipline could be used to establish cultural differences through material culture, much in consonance with what was being done with Prehistoric societies in other countries.

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[30] Sanpere i Miquel 1890

Arnau Lario-Devesa, *A Quest for the Ancient World. The appropriation of the proto-historic and Roman heritage by contending national and regional political movements in the nineteenth-century Spain.*

Archaeology was best suited to identify the geographical extent of pre-roman peoples, the ones identified as ancestors to modern Catalans and Spaniards.

The use of Archaeology as a source of legitimacy for contemporary political claims is inevitable, as, it provides us with uninterpretable facts. Ancient History became, during 19th century's last forty years, the period in which to identify one of the only autochthonous elements in a Peninsula since it was then invaded from every direction by dozens of ethnically diverse foreign powers. What is interesting is that even in a situation of ideological conflict, the 'argument-building' mechanisms, and even the core arguments themselves, are almost identical, which shows us that, even when being at the political antipodes, there are more contact points than it seems.

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Teifion Gambold, *Culture of Conflict? Trans-Rhenish Exchange*

and the Transformation of the 'Roman World'.

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Beard states in a Gifford lecture given in 2019 that the idea that has prevailed of the 'ancient Roman' typically remains one of a togate and Italic figure.[1] This may trace all the way back to the elite writers of Imperial Rome, suggested by Kulikowski's identification of the first century CE writer Tacitus' ethnographic device of comparing "…chaste and upright…" barbarians with "…licentious…" Romans in his *Germania*.[2] The Roman and Late Roman periods in western Europe – which is the chronological and geographical focus of this paper – corresponds to approximately the first century CE through to the fifth century CE. It is notable that the ideology of natural separation between the Roman and the non-Roman remained consistent throughout this period. The concept of a 'Germanic threat' to the Roman Empire, which was played up for political purposes by the Roman Imperial elite in their ideology of separation, has subsequently coloured scholarship.[3]

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[1] Beard, 2019.

[2] Kulikowski, 2020: 19.

[3] Drinkwater, 2007: 11, 12, 16, 22.

For example, the fourth century CE tutor, praetorian prefect, and statesman Ausonius is recorded lambasting a rival, Silvius Bonus, for his barbarous Britishness. According to imperial Roman ethnography, Britons were deceitful and untrustworthy.[4] The irony is that Ausonius was himself born in Gaul; much like the Britons, Gauls were condemned as simple-minded and cowardly in accounts such as Strabo's (d. 29 CE) *Geography* which formed a literary basis of Imperial Roman ethnographic thinking.[5]

Despite the beliefs of elite writers and of some modern ancient historians, as Woolf perceptively notes in his examination of Roman Gaul there was no singular 'Roman' that an ancient person might strive to emulate. Woolf suggests the concept of the 'Roman' was instead encapsulated through cultural trends specific to varying time periods and locations. While the aspects that conceptualised Roman culture were consistently debated between the 'insider' and 'outsider', often causing conflict, building materials, use of the Latin language, certain pottery typologies, and costume are markers to note.[6]

The area under investigation in this paper is the Rhine frontier. The view of the '*Limesland*' – the frontier zones which defined the outermost edge of Roman civil administration – has changed greatly since frontier studies coalesced. The first international congress of frontier studies only occurred after the Second World War in 1949.[7] Along the northern frontier on the European mainland, generally comprising the Rhine and Danube rivers as main components, it is now considered that signs of significant trans-frontier

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[4] Ausonius, *Epigrams*, CVII-CXII; Halsall, 2007: 54.

[5] Strabo, *Geography*: IV.5; Halsall, 2007: 48.

[6] Woolf, 1998: 11, 1-2, 6-7; Heather, 2005: 58.

[7] von Schnurbein, 2005: 59; Breeze, 2017: ix.

cultural and economic contact are often exhibited;[8] Roman political domination extended as far as the Elbe by the end of the first century BCE.[9] However, arguments such as Heather's are still prevalent: the peoples beyond the Rhine were too politically fragmented, and too impoverished, to be conquered.[10] Certainly, the decentralised and somewhat undeveloped nature of the landscape may have acted to styme ideas of a similar form of military conquest as in Gaul.[11]

That being said, our understanding of this region is incomplete; it would be a critical error to believe that these people in no way participated in Roman culture.[12] This article seeks to highlight that rather than the civilian cultural experience, those living outside the provinces were more often influenced by Roman martial culture and the identity expression of the military. 'Germanic' groups often settled in the vicinity of military sites; and militarised cultural norms were expressed through 'economic warfare', soldiers acting as officials, and the military service of members of external groups within the Romans' imperial armies.[13] Interaction with the Roman military spanned centuries, and – while likely asymmetrical – integration of military identity expression is detectible.[14] A number of consistent factors can be found throughout the period which clearly suggest that many so-called

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[8] Galestin, 2017; von Schnurbein, 2005.

[9] Drinkwater, 2007: 16.

[10] Heather, 2005: 47-48, 54-55, 56, 57.

[11] Drinkwater, 2007: 20.

[12] Meyer et al., 2017: 298.

[13] Drinkwater, 2007: 38-39; Kerr, 1991; Ward, 2012: 224-232; Galestin, 2017: 280.

[14] Drinkwater, 2007: 40; Halsall, 2007: 174.

'barbarians' were not outsiders but were actively within the Roman social landscape.

Military Culture

The cultural impact of the presence of the Roman military in the Rhine region was significant. The armies of the Roman and Late Roman periods were no longer the seasonal fighting forces they had been under the republic. Armies formed socially distinct communities focused around career soldiers, spread out in camps and forts, mostly along the imperial frontiers.[15] The image should not, however, be of sterile professional environments: these locations were often thriving communities comprising not only soldiers but also traders and other camp followers, living alongside families of the fighting men.[16]

The military presence in the provinces was deeply intertwined in the imperial system, through occupations such as tax collection, policing, and price regulation. This is highly visible at borderland locations where the military exerted control over groups exporting goods into the empire.[17] Military status, particularly for officers, grew sympathetically with their expanding roles in provincial regions. Soldiers with the title of '*beneficiarius*' were involved extensively in trans-frontier contact.[18] Centurions, unit leaders and fort commanders, could be admitted to the elite equestrian social class by

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[15] Gilliver, 2007: 183-184; James, 1999: 15; Hanel, 2007: 395, 398, 399; Keppie, 1984: 146.

[16] Gardner, 2001: 43; Allason-Jones, 2017: 3-7; Vanhoutte and Verbrugge, 2017: 48-52.

[17] Southern, 2007: 77, 81; Fuhrmann, 2012: 201-238; Ricci, 2011: 484, 489; Hanel, 2007: 395; Kerr, 1991: 442-444.

[18] Speidel 2011: 5; Paetz gen. Schieck 2011: 93-94, footnote n.52 p.94; Southern 2007: 81-82; *Tab. Vindol.* 250; *L'Année Épigraphique* 1944 103/1950 105; von Schnurbein, 2005: 59.

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the end of the second century CE and they could also act as '*regionarii*' who commanded whole geographical regions. While evidence is sparse, it does not seem unlikely that this behaviour impacted trans-Rhenish culture; at least one 'barbarian' leader, the Greuthungi leader Athanaricus, is called a 'judge' and the most powerful ruler among his people by Ammianus Marcellinus, perhaps comparable to the function of '*regionarii*' who also acted as magistrates.[19]

Of great significance to understanding the social impact of such individuals is understanding the distinct forms of identity expression military community possessed. The use of the sword and military belt created a unique auditory and visual presence around the Roman soldier that marked them out.[20] To have the military belt removed was a serious disciplinary measure in the Roman military, a humiliating punishment for those who failed in their duties or even allowed the unit standard to be lost.[21] For titled soldiers such as centurions, staffs of office, unique belt fittings and highly decorative spearheads symbolised their elevated status.[22] Such items created a strong corporate identity – an 'imagined community'.[23] It was this muscular cultural

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[19] Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*: XXVII.6; *Tab. Vindol.,* 250; *L'Année Épigraphique*, 1944 103/1950 105; Southern, 2007: 81-82.

[20] Speidel 2011: 1, 5; Esmonde Cleary, 2013: 45-46; Gardner, 2001: 38.

[21] Livy, *History of Rome*: XIII.9; Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*: 24.

[22] Speidel, 2011: 3, 5, 7; Bishop and Coulston, 2006: 10; Paetz gen. Schieck, 2011: 93-94, footnote n.52 p.94; Southern, 2007: 81-82; D'Amato and Sumner, 2009: 48, 179, 276; James, 2004: 51.

[23] James, 1999: 15.

identity expression which was so visible in interactions with neighbouring peoples and must have influenced their perceptions of Roman identity.

A Culture of Conflict

Central to the adoption and adaptation of Roman identity by 'native' groups is the ideas that the area across the Rhine was politically fragmented, but was not beyond Roman control.[24] Rivers such as the Rhine were ancient highways for goods and people, not barriers.[25] As demonstrated by the road and canal system recently discovered at Nijmegen, and the attestation of Tacitus, the Roman army was no exception: the river was key to keeping the soldiers supplied.[26] It is furthermore evident that although Heather may be correct in his assessment that the 'Jastorf culture' and the 'La Tène culture' predominated on opposing riverbanks, this never prohibited ancient societies from straddling the river.[27] Several tribal groups such as the Menapii and Volcae Tectosages lived on both banks simultaneously during Caesar's time.[28]

The arrival of the Romans placed the imperial military into this trans-Rhenish landscape. A fort was established across the Rhine at Waldgirmes under Augustus (r.27 BCE-14 CE), and a significant number of 'garrisons' were present on the eastern bank during the reign of Claudius I (r. 41-54 CE).[29] Nor was this a limited practice: 'Hunt's *Pridianum*' (105 CE) claims

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[24] Heather, 2005: 47-48, 54-55, 56, 57.

[25] Heather, 2005: 55-56.

[26] AFP, 2021; Tacitus, *Annales*: XIII.LIII.

[27] Heather, 2005: 49-53 (Map 2), 56.

[28] Caesar, *Gallic War*: II.4, IV.4; Whittaker, 1994: 74.

[29] Drinkwater, 2007: 39; Tacitus, *Annales*: XIX, XIII.LIV.

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that an expedition similarly crossed the frontier on the Danube to defend the '*annona*' – the military supplies – located there.[30]

The Frisians present an intriguing case study: this group occupied territory on the Atlantic coast, some distance north of the Rhine, during the Roman period but disappear textually in the Late Roman period. Following a conflict with the Frisians, the Romans required them to host a military '*praesidium*', as well as to institute a senate and magistrates.[31] This is noticeably similar to a post-war treaty with the Marcomanni, which required that they could only meet in the presence of a Roman military centurion.[32] With this integration, it is arguable that shared identity as a Roman soldier became a vehicle for a trans-Rhenish socio-political network.

For instance, the Frisians' defeat by the Romans may have resulted in the institution of a new elite, as Frisian society was still largely decentralised and agrarian at this point in time.[33] Halsall contends that the Romans not-infrequently instituted leaders for groups without clear hierarchies, and Latin titulature was likely often attributed to such Roman-sponsored leaders. This may have emphasised the increasingly prominent Roman material culture surrounding 'Germanic' rulership evident in archaeological contexts throughout the period.[34] Imperial links certainly seem to have become substantial for the Frisians: more than a-hundred sites have attested Roman

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[30] Whittaker, 1994: 113-114.

[31] Tacitus, *Annales*, XIX; Whittaker, 1994: 89.

[32] Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, LXXIII.2.4; Ward, 2012: 238.

[33] Galestin, 2017: 280.

[34] Halsall, 2007: 123-124, 183.

ceramic finds;[35] Frisian territory was heavily occupied by military suppliers and camp followers ('*negotiatores*' and '*lixae*'); Latin could be used for the signing of contracts such as loans, and centurions could be called upon to act as witnesses.[36]

At the site of Hatsum, the Netherlands, two characteristic Iron Age '*terpen*' mounds were excavated in the earlier twentieth century by Albert Egges van Giffen. The two mounds, situated approximately five-hundred metres (500m) apart, have produced six-hundred (600) Samian ware sherds and some seventy (70) fragments of Roman-type roof tiles.[37] This may be interpreted as some significant evidence for cultural integration. Van Giffen notably failed to find a Roman-style house on the site; the *terpen* had been disturbed by commercial digging prior to excavation, meaning that the remains of such a building could have been lost before van Giffen's arrival, but no conclusions can be reached on this premise.[38] However, this visible adoption of Roman building techniques is certainly present in similar trans-frontier contexts, such as was identified at Gaukönigshofen and along several tributary rivers of the Rhine which may be suggestive of cultural interaction of a similar form at Hatsum.[39]

The catalyst for such loci developing may well have been defeat by, and subsequent contact with, the Roman military. Economic contact through the Rhine highway was evidently significant; animal products and food were

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[35] Galestin, 2017: 280.

[36] Whittaker, 1994: 113; Galestin, 2017: 281.

[37] Galestin, 2017: 280-281.

[38] Woolf, 1998: 11; Galestin 2017: 281.

[39] von Schnurbein, 2005: 59; Drinkwater, 2007: 20, 36.

probably amongst the products sold to the imperial military.[40] The economic relationship between garrisons and trans-Rhenish settlements, such as those identified at Wijster and Bennekom, continued to strengthen up into the fourth century CE.[41] The elites living at Hatsum can be seen as a part of this broader context.

Throughout the trans-Rhenish region, elite practices increasingly adapted to the presence of the Roman military, such as the prestige and political power that was often invested in successful warrior-leaders.[42] Trans-Rhenish auxiliaries were recruited from at least the time of Caesar and were notably employed during the first century CE.[43] One such was the Frisian Cruptorix. He is mentioned by Tacitus as an ex-soldier, possessing an estate large enough to house four-hundred soldiers, in the reign of Tiberius (r.14-37 CE).[44] This likely places him within the local elite. Frisian units are attested in texts from Britain between the second and third centuries CE; warrior-elites such as Cruptorix may therefore have continued to form a cultural bridge between the empire and their people.[45] It is plausible that these men were able to greatly enhance their status by exploiting the military identity they gained through military service. Indeed, Haynes has suggested that perhaps half of

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[40] Galestin, 2017: 281.

[41] Halsall, 2007: 125, 126.

[42] Halsall, 2007: 124.

[43] Demandt, 2013: 161; Drinkwater, 2007: 25, 41; Halsall, 2007: 102.

[44] Tacitus, *Annales*: IV.LXXIII; Whittaker, 1994: 113.

[45] RIB: 882, 883, 1036, 1594; c.f. *Tab. Vindol.* 861 (Frisian possibly named).

all Roman land forces were made up of non-citizens, which likely included a substantial number of people from across the Rhine.[46]

Manpower demands only increased in these regions during the second and third centuries CE.[47] Disease may have caused a decline in the population of the empire, reducing the available pool of recruits from within the provinces.[48] Fischer notes that the 'Germanic' tribes across the frontier were a ready source of additional manpower from the reign of Marcus Aurelius (r.161-180 CE).[49] There must have been cultural implications; the Romans often incorporated the military structures of neighbouring civilisations into their own forces when they absorbed them, and while no formal annexation occurred in cases like the Frisians, these groups may have been largely integrated into the Roman military system.[50]

Violent interaction, however, was not only defined by the aggression of the Romans. It was through conflict that political leaders often sought to redress the balance of power. Cross-border raiding was effectively a fact of frontier life.[51] While Nero was emperor (r.54-68 CE), the Frisians used the threat of conflict to attempt to gain concessions: when the Romans seemed reluctant to send expeditions of troops across the Rhine, two powerful leaders – potentially former Roman auxiliaries like Cruptorix – brought their people to farm territory on the eastern bank of the Rhine given over to the Roman military's use.[52] Only with the grant of Roman citizenship to these leaders,

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[46] Haynes, 2013: vii.

[47] Drinkwater, 2007: 145.

[48] Demandt, 2013: 162.

[49] Fischer 2019: 53, 84.

[50] Haynes, 2013: 66.

[51] Drinkwater, 2007: 30.

[52] Drinkwater, 2007: 22.

and a force of auxiliary cavalry had driven off the Frisians, did the unrest end.[53]

The Tencteri similarly utilised the political instability caused by the Civilis Revolt of 70 CE, begun by a Batavian prince who was himself also a Roman military officer, to overthrow Roman restrictions on their crossings of the Rhine.[54] They were aggrieved at the Roman military's impositions, which included a tax and placed the Tencteri under guard.[55] Similar confrontations would continue: as the recent discovery of the great battle-site at Harzhorn suggests, the army was still fighting major actions deep inside 'barbarian' territory well into the third century CE.[56] The emperor Valens (r.364-378 CE) fought a three-year war with the Greuthungi who had obtained favourable terms from the Romans during a period of political instability for the empire.[57] These studies are evidence that interactions in the trans-Rhine region were firmly the preserve of the Roman military and martial forces of neighbouring groups: in peacetime through recruitment practices; in politics through the use of conflict to renegotiate treaty terms; and economics where the Roman military supervised any crossings.

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[53] Tacitus, *Annales*, XIII.LIV.

[54] Drinkwater, 2007: 23.

[55] Kerr, 1991: 443; Tacitus, *Histories*, Book IV.LXIV.

[56] Meyer et al., 2017: 298-303.

[57] Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*: XXVII.6; Kerr, 1991: 443.

The End Result?

These practices and conflicts became key to identity expression across the trans-Rhenish area.[58] Groups like the Frisians and their neighbours were exposed to the militant identity fostered by serving the Roman imperial military and by clashing against this same institution. There were cultural repercussions: exchanges of equipment and customs increasingly begin to appear amongst trans-Rhenish material culture, visible in the archaeological and historical record, during the Late Roman period.[59]

As the Roman military apparently began to adopt 'barbarian' practices, significant deposits of Roman equipment have been found at twenty sites across northern Germany, Denmark and Sweden from the same period. While these finds may represent war trophies, it is plausible that at least some of this material was obtained as a result of military service.[60] By the fourth century CE, 'barbarians' were allegedly fighting with the '*bebra*', which was apparently modelled explicitly on the earlier Roman '*pila*'.[61] The so-called '*barritus*' war cry, allegedly 'Germanic' in origin, was apparently used by Late Roman soldiers.[62] Vegetius' claims are not certain, given his lack of personal military experience, but the archaeological record appears to corroborate these assertions.[63]

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[58] Halsall, 2007: 123.

[59] Halsall, 2007: 57-58,

[60] Bishop and Coulston, 2006: 31-32; Halsall, 2007: 102-103.

[61] Vegetius, *Epitome of Military Science*: I.20.

[62] Vegetius, *Epitome of Military Science*: III.18: trans. N.P. Milner, 1996: 101, footnote 2; Halsall, 2007: 103.

[63] Allmand, 2011: 397; Bishop and Coulston, 2006: 200.

Fischer contends that military belt typology of the Late Roman period becomes noticeably 'German' in design;[64] examples – from Cuxhaven for example – can attest, however, the same functionality and symbolism persisted.[65] Dangling decorative terminals on such Late Roman examples would still have produced the characteristics of the Roman military belt.[66] 'Germanic' dress items, including locally produced brooches, were used to consciously emulate Roman status expression.[67] This may suggest an integration of military identity expression into 'Germanic' dress, part of a much broader synthesis of eastern and western Rhenish material culture in this period. '*Tutulusfibeln*' brooches, and a bronze neck-ring, both of recognisably eastern-Rhenish typology, have been found at the Roman forts of Krefeld-Gellep and Oudenburg, which adds to the suggestion of an increasing commonality in expression between the 'Romans' on the western riverbank and the 'non-Romans' on the eastern riverbank.[68]

Even further afield, Dyhrfjeld-Johnsen hypothesises that a variation on the 'Charon's payment' custom was present among Scandinavian elites in both Denmark and Norway in this period, with several 'weapon graves' attesting this practice. Dyhrfjeld-Johnsen posits this may represent a similar phenomenon to the Frisians, whereby former Roman auxiliaries returned home with knowledge and practices of the Roman military integrated into

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[64] Fischer, 2019: 92.

[65] c.f. James, 2004: 79-91; Bishop and Coulston, 2006: 221-223.

[66] c.f. Bishop and Coulston, 2006: 110, 254; Hoss, 2011: 30.

[67] Halsall, 2007: 58, 123.

[68] Esmonde Cleary, 2013: 343; Vanhoutte and Verbrugge, 2017: 49.

their identity expression.[69] Relatively large settlements of peoples from across the frontiers were never entirely uncommon and continued into the Late Roman period such as with the absorption of a Sarmatian group in 334 CE.[70] Thus, momentum for a such a wide-ranging cultural network may lie with such movements, and the recruitment of eastern Rhenish warriors into the army. This had arguably become habitual and substantial by the later third and fourth centuries CE.[71]

Conclusions

In sum, the narrative of the transformation of the 'Roman world' must change to reflect the fact that trans-Rhenish peoples were not outsiders, or ignorant of Roman cultural norms. Rather, it must be acknowledged that the Roman culture to which these peoples were exposed was the martial culture of the Roman military community. The traditions of the elite which existed before the arrival of the empire were adapted by experiences fighting both with and against Roman soldiers.[72] This cultural phenomenon spanned hundreds of kilometres beyond the '*Limesland*' of the empire, encompassing areas as diverse as the Netherlands, Denmark, and central Germany. Movement of such peoples into the empire in the Late Roman period produced incomers such as Franks who identified as equally Roman, and fifth century CE warlords like Odovacar (died, 493 CE) who became integrated as Roman aristocrats, generals, and statesmen.

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[69] Dyhrfjeld-Johnsen, 2017: 269-270.

[70] de Ste. Croix, 1981: 510-516; Halsall, 2007: 176.

[71] Drinkwater, 2007: 145; Bishop and Coulston, 2006: 199.

[72] Drinkwater, 2007: 19-20.

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Gary Watson, *Palmyra's Roman Revolution: How Rome Enabled the Palmyrene Empire*

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It is during the reign of another powerful eastern queen who ruled under Rome's aegis, Cleopatra VII (and last) of Egypt, that Palmyra first features in Roman history. The first interaction between the two cities is described in Appian's history as a raid on Palmyra, which was carried out by Cleopatra's consort, Mark Antony, in around 41 BC.[1] This is somewhat ironic as the whole episode of Antony and Cleopatra illustrates how Rome could and often did depend on subject nations to carry out the administration of the empire on its behalf. Antony ruled the east at once as a Roman magistrate but also a consort of Cleopatra, and many at that time (and since) have wondered, perhaps encouraged, not a little, by Augustan propaganda, who really held power in the east: the Roman magistrate or the Egyptian queen.[2] The passage from Appian is revealing as it shows that Palmyra was not subject to the Roman empire at this point. And yet, ironically, over two centuries later, it was this very city that would produce another eastern queen, who also took the reins of Roman power in the east, and for whom Cleopatra may have served as a model: Zenobia.[3] The latter was a central player in an episode that

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[1] Appian *B Civ.* 5.1.9.

[2] E.g. Dio 50.4.1 and Plutarch *Ant.* 58.

[3] Some sources state she claimed descent from Cleopatra, e.g. *SHA Tyr. Trig.* 27 and 30. But there is no direct evidence.

is just as illustrative as that of Antony and Cleopatra: the rise of Odenathus and the so-called Palmyrene Empire of Zenobia and Vaballathus. To understand how this episode came about, it is important to understand how Palmyra came to be within, and play a prominent role within, the Roman empire.

Palmyra and Rome: A Tale of two Cities

Palmyra seems to have only succeeded in prospering as a trading centre due to Rome's success in bringing the *pax Romana* to the east. The question of exactly when Palmyra came under Roman power is unclear. But the city's trade was evidently important to Rome during Tiberius' reign, when Germanicus visited the city in AD 19 and set its trade tariffs.[4] This incident would suggest not only that the trade was becoming important to Rome (and was likely flourishing) but also that Palmyra was in some way subject to Roman power. At this same time, Germanicus also used a Palmyrene man as an ambassador to neighbouring Characene/Mesene.[5] This state, which lay on the Persian Gulf, was a satrap of the Parthian Empire (although it briefly came under Roman power after Trajan's Parthian campaign, c. AD 115) and was (or became) extremely important to Palmyrene trade. In which case who would be better than a Palmyrene as an ambassador? Someone who likely knew the region and its trade routes, and perhaps had contacts in Characene, which would make them a more effective ambassador. It shows, even at this

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[4] *PAT* 0259.

[5] *PAT* 2754.

early stage, a Palmyrene acting on behalf of the Rome and getting involved in the business of empire.

It is certainly clear that the city had been incorporated into the empire by the reign of Hadrian, as the emperor visited the city and, with no small amount of vanity (infamously befitting him), renamed the city 'Hadriane Palmyra'.[6] It seems the city had prospered and grown, since Germanicus' time, from a community that was made up of tribal groups that perhaps maintained strong connections with nomads of the Syrian desert, to a Hellenistic style city with the Roman empire. This can be seen in the growth of Hellenistic architecture, institutions and even terminology.[7] It portrayed itself outwardly as a Greek city while still preserving an underlying unique character as desert trading city with a Semitic language and population. This unique character was, nonetheless, essential to Rome, as we shall see. The fact that the city took Hadrian's name may have been part of this, as Hadrian was famously keen to encourage Hellenistic styles and culture throughout the empire. But the city may have taken on a Roman identity by the Severan era (AD 193-235) when it was granted the status of *colonia*. The key word here is *status* because, by the time of the Severan emperors, the term *colonia* had ceased to signify a place where there was an actual colony of citizens or veterans and was simply a status-title (and perhaps one of the highest).[8] The city in no way became a site for veteran settlement and does not seem to have

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[6] Stephanos Byz. *Eth.* s.v. Πάλμυρα. Shown in inscriptions, e.g. *PAT* 0247.

[7] See fig. 1 and 2. These show Hellenistic architecture at Palmyra: Corinthian columns and a nymphaeum.

[8] Millar 2006: 191-200.

been a satellite for Roman citizens.[9] What this title did was to situate Palmyra within the empire as a prominent Roman city. The city even adopted Roman colonial forms: it had two leaders, or *duumuiri* (*strategoi* in the Greek used by Palmyrenes), elected each year to govern the city. This Roman identity led to the city producing several senators from among its leading citizens, and also, later, allowed Odenathus to gain prominence as both a Palmyrene noble and a Roman senator. But, before we look at the rise of Odenathus, it is necessary to look at another aspect of Palmyra which paved the way for Odenathus: its unique position as a desert trading city.

A Trading Empire?

As the city prospered under the Roman peace, it becomes apparent that city was a major player in east-west trade. The main route used is now thought to be the road to Hit, which lies southeast of Palmyra on the Euphrates River.[10] Here, trade, which Palmyra sent through the desert by caravan, would be directed south, by boat, to Characene/Mesene, where commercial goods were sent as far as India and China.[11] It is in this context that certain leading men from among the population come to prominence as protectors and sponsors of the caravan trade. The question of who exactly these leading figures were has sparked a debate as heated as the question of when the city came under Roman power.[12] There has been no resolution or consensus. What we see are

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[9] The citizenship would be granted to all freeborn male citizens of the empire by AD 212, which utterly diminished the significance of this aspect of becoming a *colonia*.

[10] See map.

[11] For the route: Meyer and Seland 2016.

[12] For an overview: Sommer 2016: 11-13.

inscriptions from in and around Palmyra, where figures are praised and thanked by merchants for offering protection to them both at home, on the road, and abroad. These figures have been variously portrayed as a protector-warrior class, who emerged from tribal hierarchies, merchant princes, who dominated the markets, or simply ordinary merchants who took the initiative in protecting their fellows.[13] One of the most prominent of these figures, who stands out from among the inscriptions, is a Palmyrene named Soados.[14]

Soados seems to have to carried out the same task as other leading figures, i.e. protecting and sponsoring trade. But there is something unique about this figure, as he not only seems to have done this on a larger scale, but he also, apparently, had the backing and approval of the Roman provincial administration. In the following inscription, which was made in both Greek and Palmyrene-Semitic in AD 132, Soados is both backed and legitimised in his task, through letters and an edict, by none other than the governor of Syria:

'…(The statue of) Soados, son of Boliades, son of Soados, [pious and] patriotic, and who on many [notable] occasions nobly and with [love of honour] supported the merchants, the caravans, and the citizens in Vologasias, and who always invested his life and wealth for his fatherland's vital interests, and who because of this [has been adorned] with decrees, measures, public statues, and both letters and an edict of Publicius Marcellus, the most distinguished lord consular governor…'[15]

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[13] Will 1957; Yon 2002; Young 2001; respectively.

[14] This is the Greek/Hellenised form of his Semitic name, So'adu.

[15] *PAT* 0197. Translated in Andrade 2012: 78.

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This shows that Rome was interested in and concerned with the success of Palmyrene trade. The inscription, which comes from the reign of Hadrian (AD 117-138), shows that Roman authorities were happy for the city to autonomously oversee trade and protect Rome's south-eastern desert frontier on their behalf. This is confirmed later from another inscription made in AD 145 (the reign of Antoninus Pius, AD 138-161), also in Greek and Palmyrene-Semitic, which describes how Soados, more prominent and successful than ever, had been backed and sponsored in his activities by the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius themselves:

'…In the year [. . .], the council and people (honour with statues) [Soados], son of Boliades, son of Soados, son of Thaimisamsos, pious and patriotic, because in many notable instances nobly and with a love of honour he supported the merchants, caravans, and citizens in Vologasias. And for these deeds, he was given witness by letters from the divine Hadrian and the most divine emperor Antoninus, his son, and likewise by an edict of Publicius Marcellus and his letter and those of subsequent consular governors, and he was honoured with decrees and statues by the council and people, by caravans at various times, and by citizens individually…'[16]

This shows that not only had his sponsorship and legitimation by provincial governors become a common practice, but that highest authority (the emperor) had recognised his deeds. This demonstrates the genuine

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[16] *PAT* 1062. Translated in Andrade 2012: 81-2.

importance the Roman state attached to his activity. By this point Palmyra had taken the name of Hadrian, and was clearly within the empire, and yet it was autonomously regulating and managing security in the south-Syrian desert, and seemingly alone. Rather than become directly involved, Rome responded to the situation by sponsoring legitimising a leading Palmyrene like Soados to carry out these tasks and indirectly keep peace and security on Rome's desert frontier. The episode shows that a role that appears as a local, or region-specific one, could have had wider implications as an imperial function. And, in many ways, it prefigures the rise of Odenathus.

Odenathus: Palmyrene Prince or Roman Magistrate?

By the time of Odenathus (AD 250's-60s), Palmyra had become a *colonia*, as mentioned above, and had also become involved with towns on the Euphrates.[17] It was a powerful and prosperous trading city with power far beyond its immediate hinterlands, but it was also, as we have seen, a Roman city, and had been integrated into the empire. It is in this context that Odenathus begins his rise to power. The fact that the city was a *colonia*, meant that it was possible for prominent members to enter the ranks of the Roman elite. Odenathus was born into the military elite of Palmyra, and eventually took part in the protection of caravans. He was clearly successful: a statue, dated to AD 252, shows that Odenathus had become the military leader of the city (*exarch* in Latin or *rš'* in Palmyrene/Aramaic) by this time.[18] He had also

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[17] Palmyrene archers had occupied Dura while under Roman rule, probably from AD 165. And Palmyrene military forces are attested as being stationed further south, on the river Euphrates, at Ana and Gamla: see map.

[18] *PAT* 2753.

become a Roman senator at some point before this.[19] More interesting, is that by the end of this decade, further inscriptions show that Odenathus had received the title *hypatikos*, this is the Greek translation of *consularis*, in Latin, which signifies an ex-Consul or someone of consular rank. This may, and very likely does mean, that he had taken on some administrative role directly in Roman provincial government, and this could very well mean that he had governed Syria Phoenice, the Roman province in which Palmyra was situated. It may be that in the turbulence of the mid-third century, and the lead up to what is described as the 'Crisis of the Third Century', Rome looked to trustworthy indigenous leaders to rule on its behalf. Certainly, if Odenathus was a governor, then what happens next makes sense.

In 260 Shapur I, the Persian Shah, or Shahanshah (King of Kings), invaded the Roman province of Syria for the third time. The Roman armies were beaten back, and Antioch (the provincial capital of Syria) taken. When the emperor Valerian attempted to attack the retreating Persian army, he was also defeated and captured.[20] Amid this disaster, Odenathus rallied Syria and lead an army of what most of our limited sources refer to as 'Syrian peasants'.[21] It is unclear whether he had regular Roman forces at his disposal, but his army of 'Syrians peasants' must also have included Palmyrene forces which he had commanded for years. With these forces, and like any good Roman citizen and (ex)magistrate, he both defeated a usurper, named

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[19] Hartmann 2001: 92; Southern 2008: 43; Gawlikowski 2010: 468.

[20] This can be seen on a relief depicting Valerian's surrender to Shapur I: see fig. 3.

[21] Festus *Brev.* 23; Jerome *Chron.* 261st Olympiad; Orosius *Hist.* 7.22.12. None of these is contemporary with the events.

Quietus, at Emesa, and then marched to defeat the retreating Persian army in Mesopotamia and restored Roman provincial government there. It is likely that he then took on some sort of role as a protector and governor for the entire Roman east after this point, and that he filled in a power vacuum that had arisen after the Persian invasion. This was primarily based on titles shown in inscriptions, in Palmyrene/Aramaic, after his death, which describe Odenathus as King of Kings (*MLK MLK'*) and 'restorer of the east'. Whether this was a formal position granted by the emperor, or a simply an honorary title, is unknown. His son and successor, Vaballathus, certainly thought so, as he apparently took the title (in Greek) '*epanorthotes* of the east', which is normally translated into Latin as *corrector*, which suggests a formal appointment by the emperor.[22] If he inherited this title from his father, then Odenathus must have also held such a position.[23] Whatever the case, Vaballathus at least inherited a *de facto* role as a governor and protector of the east (thanks to the efforts of his mother). And yet, despite their rise to power as eastern 'Kings of Kings', both Odenathus and his sucessor remained loyal to Rome and framed that power (perhaps primarily) in Roman terms.

The Palmyrene Empire

In AD 267/8 Odenathus was assassinated, but thanks to the quick actions and manoeuvres of Zenobia, she secured the succession to Odenathus' power and position for Vaballathus and acted as regent to her young son. They remained loyal to Rome and the emperor in the west, as can be seen by coins minted at Antioch where Vaballathus appears alongside the new emperor Aurelian as a

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[22] A *corrector* was an ill-defined but established administrative role.
[23] Potter 1990: 392-3.

mere Roman *dux* (general).[24] And it was only when Aurelian, who sought draw in the disparate elements of the empire, declared war and began his invasion of the east, that Zenobia and Vaballathus claimed the titles Augusta and Augustus. The fact that they took these titles shows that, even at this point, Zenobia did not break with Rome and declare an independent Palmyra but framed her faction as a Roman one competing for the supreme Roman title.[25] Despite their efforts, however, Aurelian's invasion was a success, and she was defeated in battle at Immae, Emesa and the final siege of Palmyra (where she is said to have fled east on a camel).[26] When Zenobia was captured, she was sent back to Rome with her son, and, according to some sources, perhaps because she was the former wife of a senator herself, married a nobleman or senator.[27] If the latter tradition is true, then Zenobia seems to have integrated somewhat seamlessly into the society of the elite at Rome. It would also reflect how far Palmyrene elite society had integrated into the elite society of the empire, even in Rome.

Odenathus had carved out an important role for himself within the Roman empire by becoming the most distinguished leader and commander of his unique city. And, like Soados before him, Rome recognised, sponsored, and then legitimised the role Odenathus was playing on behalf of the empire. In so doing, Odenathus made Palmyra a centre for the administration of the Roman east and paved the way for Zenobia and Vaballathus to stake their

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[24] See fig. 4 (Top: Aurelian; Bottom: Vaballathus).

[25] Vaballathus was depicted, in Roman style, sporting the title Augustus and imperial regalia on coinage: see fig. 5.

[26] Zosimus: 1.60.1.

[27] Syncellus: 721; Zonoras: 12.27.

claim to empire. This takes us back to the comparison at the beginning of this paper. Cleopatra was able to use her close relationship to Antony to expand her kingdom and power, but it was under a Roman aegis. Zenobia could be said to have done something similar. The difference was that her kingdom was an integral part of the Roman administration. It remains an open question as to whether Zenobia and her son sought an independent Palmyrene empire, or to rule the Roman empire as ambitious members of the Roman elite and the imperial administration. If the latter seems more likely, then it made little difference. Propaganda served Aurelian as it had Octavian: the image of an 'eastern queen' was offensive to Roman sensibilities. It made Zenobia and the 'Palmyrene empire', even as a subsidiary administrative unit of the Roman empire, unacceptable to Aurelian and the west, whose ultimate mantra would be *imperium Palmyrenorum delendum est*. Although, tellingly, the city itself survived as a Roman legionary base.

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